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AUTHOR	Gasman, Marybeth
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ABSTRACT

This study explored the appeals made in fund raising for Fisk University to both blacks and whites by the fundraising firm Marts and Lundy, Inc. In 1946, Charles S. Johnson, a noted scholar, became the first black president of Fisk. With the deadline of a major matching endowment challenge approaching, Johnson thought that the assistance of an established fundraising firm would help him meet his goals for the university. The methodology of the study was historical inquiry, using resources from the university's collection and several other archives to explore the policies and practices of Fisk University and Marts and Lundy. The findings show that Marts and Lundy used racist rhetoric in their fund raising appeals to whites, and that Johnson, who maintained silence about his attitude toward their approach, did not lend his name to their letters sent to the white community. Marts and Lundy, in their letters to potential white donors, made derogatory and condescending insinuations about blacks, insinuations that may not have offended the white citizens of Nashville, Tennessee, but would have offended blacks had they received the same publicity piece. In fact, the campaign did not succeed in raising enough money to meet the endowment challenge, and Fisk University did not continue to use Marts and Lundy, Inc. for fund raising. Among the lessons that can be drawn from this case study is that institutions need to supervise fundraising campaigns so that the goals and mission of the institution can remain at the forefront of the campaign. (SLD)

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Racial Stereotyping in Fundraising for Historically Black Colleges: A Historical Case Study[1]

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Marybeth Gasman
Assistant Professor, Higher Education
Education Policy Studies
Georgia State University
mgasman@gsu.edu

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Introduction

How do we convince someone of the value of an idea – so much that he or she is willing to make a monetary contribution to support it? What words do we use? How do these words change depending upon the person solicited? Depending upon the situation? The prevailing literature in the field of fundraising and philanthropy gives scant coverage to fundraising rhetoric.[2] Further, when the issue of race is introduced (i.e., fundraising for historically black colleges) there is even less said about methods of persuasion. For example, Scott M. Cutlip's book, *Fund Raising in the United States*, gives an exhaustive overview of the development of fundraising: important personalities, key organizations, and major donations. However, he neglects to discuss, in great detail, how fundraisers approached potential donors. The reader is not made aware of the rhetoric used to persuade the donor.

Historians who focus on historically black colleges have also neglected the area of fundraising rhetoric. In the recent past, several researchers have provided insight into the

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[2] For example see, Robert H. Bremner. *American Philanthropy*. 2d ed. (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1988). Merle E. Curti and Roderick Nash. *Philanthropy in the Shaping of American Higher Education*. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1965). Barbara E. Brittingham and Thomas R. Pezzullo. *The Campus Green. Fund Raising in Higher Education*. 1990 ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Reports. (Washington, DC: Council for the Advancement and Support of Education, 1990). Jesse B. Sears. *Philanthropy in the History of American Higher Education*. (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1922). C.M. Steffens and Paul P. Faris. *Adventures in Money Raising*. (New York: Macmillan, 1930).

complicated relationship between philanthropy and black education.[3] James Anderson, for example, has effectively lodged criticism against many prominent philanthropists for their controlling behavior and self-serving attitudes toward black education. In making these claims, Anderson looks at the words and writings of philanthropists but does not focus on the fundraising organizations that worked with black colleges. In their recent work, *Dangerous Donations*, Eric Anderson and Alfred Moss present the words of philanthropists but again do not look directly at those raising the funds and the rhetoric they used.[4]

Purpose

In 1946, noted sociologist, Harlem Renaissance promoter, and race relations expert Charles S. Johnson was chosen to be the first black president of Fisk University. With the deadline of a major endowment challenge quickly approaching, Johnson thought that the assistance of an established fundraising firm would help him meet his goals. Although skilled in fundraising himself and accustomed to operating in philanthropic circles, Johnson hired Marts and Lundy, Inc. to assist him in his efforts.

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[3] James D. Anderson. *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935.* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988). Edward Berman. *The Influence of the Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations on American Foreign Policy: The Ideology of Philanthropy.* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1983). Stephen J. Peeps. "Northern Philanthropy and the Emergence of Black Higher Education—Do-gooders, Compromisers, or Co-conspirators?" *Journal of Negro Education 50*, no. 3 (1981), 251-269.

[4] Eric Anderson and Alfred A. Moss. *Dangerous Donations: Northern Philanthropy and Southern Black Education, 1902-1930.* (Columbia, Missouri: The University of Missouri Press, 1999).

This paper explores the appeals made by Marts and Lundy[5] to both blacks and whites and the reasons behind them. It asks and attempts to answer several important questions. In approving the appeals, were the University and its black president motivated by pragmatism? Did they allow the goal of raising money to take precedence over all others? In its previous relationships with black colleges, did Marts and Lundy use a similar strategy? And what role did racism play in this fundraising appeal?

Methodology

The methodology of this study is historical inquiry— using resources from the Fisk University Special Collection, the Rockefeller Archives Center, and the Indiana University Center on Philanthropy. These collections contain the papers of Charles S. Johnson, the Rockefeller philanthropies, and Marts and Lundy, Inc. Through the review of documents such as committee meeting minutes, conference proceedings, fundraising reports, general correspondence, speeches, and newspaper clippings, the paper will explore the policies and practices of both Fisk and Marts and Lundy. Further, the paper draws upon interviews conducted with Johnson's colleagues, former board members and fundraising staff at Fisk University. In particular, it incorporates information from a series of newsletters distributed by Marts and Lundy—documents that illuminate national trends in fundraising during the 1940s and 50s and how those trends affected black colleges.

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[5] When referring to Marts and Lundy, I may use its or their interchangeably due to the fact that Marts and Lundy was a fundraising firm, but in the case of Fisk Arnaud Marts and George Lundy worked directly with the college.

Marts and Lundy: Background

Shortly after World War I, the Red Cross become widely known and recognized as the largest relief organization in the world. Its efforts to gain nationwide support for war victims virtually changed fundraising overnight – making it into an art form. Capitalizing on the heavy exposure received by the Red Cross, the YMCA began to expand its programs and publicity efforts. The expansion of these prominent organizations and their subsequent efforts to raise money were the impetus for fundraising becoming a business. With the establishment of firms such as Ward and Hill & Associates, Tamblyn and Brown, John Price Jones, and Marts and Lundy, the profession began in earnest.[6]

Founded in 1926, Marts and Lundy is one of the oldest fundraising firms in the United States and has worked extensively with colleges and universities across the country. Arnaud C. Marts, one of the firm's founders, was schooled at Oberlin College. After graduation, he joined the staff at the YMCA. His experience at the YMCA greatly shaped his views on philanthropy – causing him to place an "emphasis on religion and local voluntary action."[7] After three years there, he served as vice president for Standard Life Insurance Company. Between 1935 and 1945, he was the president of Bucknell University, although while in this position, he continued

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[6] Scott M. Cutlip. *Fund Raising in the United States. Its Role in America's Philanthropy.* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1965). Brittingham and Pezzullo. *The Campus Green.*

[7] Robert L. Payton, "Introduction to the Transaction Edition," in Arnaud C. Marts. *Philanthropy's Role in Civilization,* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1991): xii

his work with Marts and Lundy.[8] George E. Lundy, the co-founder of the firm, attended Iowa State College. He and Marts met while working for the YMCA. In establishing the fundraising firm, the two men attached "great importance to the spiritual benefits of giving" and sought to include "the finest Christian attitudes" in their work.[9] They founded the company "upon the certainty that systematic fund-raising would encourage the American spirit of volunteering and giving."[10]

According to Robert L Payton, for Arnaud C. Marts [and his colleagues at Marts and Lundy],

> Philanthropy [was] closely linked to the free market economy, local government, and individual responsibility. The emerging civil rights movement, the decay of the inner cities, environmental pollution, and the radical challenges to authority

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[8] In his biography of Marts, Paul C. Carter shares a humorous anecdote about Marts and the Bucknell presidency. Most of the Bucknell alumni wanted Marts to remain in the presidency with one exception. This alumnus sent Marts a letter stating, "I was glad to hear you say yesterday that you are not going to be the permanent president of Bucknell—that you are only going to stay a year or so. What we need at Bucknell as president is an elderly man with dignity and preferably with a beard who looks and acts like a scholar." Paul C. Carter, *Arnaud Cartwright Marts: A Winner in the American Tradition.* (New York: Algonquin Press, 1970): 149.

[9] "Achievement. The Marts and Lundy Story, p. 7, Rockefeller Family Archives, Record Group 2, Office of the Messrs Rockefeller, Friends and Services Series, box 38, folder 282, Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleephollow, New York.

[10] MartsandLundy.com (February 13, 2001)

were not yet part of Mart's [sic] consciousness nor of the general public's. Freedom and patriotism were the dominant slogans rather than equality and justice.[11]

As a result of this perspective, Marts and Lundy emphasized achievement and economic contribution to the community when appealing on behalf of a collegiate institution.

Marts and Lundy had an almost religious zeal about their firm's approach to fundraising. In their minds, the donor was their client, not the institution that hired them. They advocated hands-on interaction with the client and spent much of their time in the "field" soliciting funds. Marts and Lundy's commitment to fundraising is spelled out in the firm's publicity materials – specifically in their code of ethics. The following excerpts from this code illustrate the firm's professed commitment to presenting the institution that they represented in the most positive light:

I. We will take no campaign the purpose of which we cannot approve.

II. We will take no campaign which in our best judgment is not possible of success.

III. We will direct no philanthropic campaigns on a percentage basis, for to do so would create the impression in the minds of the volunteer workers that our earnestness and zeal were for financial gain.

IV. Having taken a contract, the interests of the client must come before our own.

V. Our publicity shall be educational rather than of the ballyhoo or high pressure type.

VI. Directors shall at all times conduct themselves as Christian gentlemen careful to do nothing which will be likely to offend anyone.

VII. Directors shall give themselves whole-heartedly to the promotion of the campaign, utilizing every minute of every day in behalf of the campaign.

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[11] Payton. Introduction to the Transaction Edition: xi.

VIII. Campaigns should be conducted upon such a high plane that there will be three results:
   a. The constituency of the institutions shall become thoroughly familiar with its character, ideals, and objectives;
   b. The financial objective shall be reached;
   c. Such good will for the institution shall be built that will result in great good in future years.[12]

Marts and Lundy repeated these principles in speeches and writings as well as in their firm's publicity efforts. So vehement were the two in the pursuit of these ideas, that they jettisoned an earlier partner, Bayard Hedrick – buying up his share of the partnership to get him to leave the firm – all in the name of principles.[13]

Fisk was not the only historically black college or black organization with which Marts and Lundy worked. They ran successful endowment campaigns at Clark College in Atlanta, Georgia, at Dillard University in New Orleans, Louisiana, at Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina, at the Hampton Institute in Hampton, Virginia, at Knoxville College in Knoxville, Tennessee, among others. [14] Further, in the 1950s, Marts and Lundy spearheaded a building

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[12] "Code of Ethics" Rockefeller Family Archives, Record Group 2, Office of the Messrs Rockefeller, Friends and Services Series, box 38, folder 282, Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepyhollow, New York.

[13] Payton. Introduction to the Transaction Edition. Cutlip. *Fundraising in the United States.*

[14] Information on individual black college campaigns included in Rockefeller Family Archives, Record Group 2, Office of the Messrs Rockefeller, Friends and Services Series, box 38, folder 282, Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepyhollow, New York.

campaign for the United Negro College Fund (UNCF). Their efforts resulted in 160 new buildings on 31 of the UNCF campuses.[15]

Charles S. Johnson

In order to understand the situation at Fisk and in Nashville, it is necessary to take a closer look at Fisk's president during the late 1940s and early 50s. A nationally and internationally connected figure, Charles S. Johnson used his status as a researcher and advisor to several United States presidents, philanthropists, and the United Nations, to bring acclaim to the campus and attract scholars to it.[16] President Johnson came to Fisk schooled in the Chicago-style of sociology, comfortable with wealthy elites, and equipped with extensive administrative experience. His career and interactions were much more far-reaching than those of earlier Fisk presidents and this fact played a significant role in the changes taking place at Fisk.

As historian John Hope Franklin suggests, Johnson came to the presidency having well-developed relationships with most of the prominent philanthropists of his generation.[17] Because

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[15] "160 Projects Result Through Fund-Raising Campaign of UNCF," *Financing Philanthropy.* Marts and Lundy Newsletter. October 1955, p. 7. Marts and Lundy Records, 1926-1992, Series II Newsletters, Roll #9, Financing Philanthropy, 1926-1971, Indiana University Philanthropic Studies Library, Indianapolis, Indiana.

[16] Patrick Gilpin, "Charles S. Johnson: An Intellectual Biography" (Ph.D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1973); and John Stanfield, *Philanthropy and Jim Crow in American Social Science* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1985); Richard Robbins, *Sidelines Activist. : Charles S. Johnson and the Struggle for Civil Rights* (Jackson, Mississippi: University of Mississippi Press, 1996).

[17] John Hope Franklin to author, 5 June 1999.

the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial funded his previous position as chair in the social science department at Fisk and was instrumental in his selection for this post, Johnson had a strong relationship with Rockefeller's General Education Board.

He also knew Edwin Embree, president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, from his days with the Chicago Race Relations Commission, and had nurtured the relationship over many years. Embree and the Rosenwald Fund were the chief supporters of Johnson's research and he reciprocated by moving the Rosenwald Fund to the forefront of race relations. In his book, *13 Against the Odds*, Embree wrote,

> Charles Johnson has one of America's great careers in scholarship and statesmanship. He ranks among the leading social scientists of the nation…regardless of race. And his record of reforms is as brilliant as his research. He is physician to the body politic, carefully diagnosing social ills so that he can cure them and prevent them, so that he can help America build toward a full and wholesome democracy.

Knowing, in 1948, that the Rosenwald Fund was near its end, Johnson began to search for new sources of funding for black talent—in particular, he courted John Hay Whitney and Clarence Faust of the Ford Foundation. Although his ties to philanthropy were strong on a national level, Johnson suffered from the blight of southern racism at the local level – hence the need for Marts and Lundy's assistance. Here was a man who, despite connections to international elites of all races, was not permitted to enter the faculty cafeteria when visiting nearby Vanderbilt University.

The Situation at Fisk University and in Nashville, Tennessee

According to Charles S. Johnson,

> Fisk University in 1946-47 had weathered a depression and a war when the Presidency was vacated. The stress of a sustained crisis inevitably had some effect upon the program and personnel of the institution, severely limiting its financial resources and postponing virtually all major programs designed to preserve or improve the physical plant and other essential facilities.[18]

Upon stepping into the presidency, Johnson was faced with an increased student enrollment, the need for repairs to existing buildings and the construction of additional buildings, an incomplete endowment campaign, a recent reorganization of the educational program, and increasing operating costs. Despite its financial problems, Fisk was a culturally rich environment, which benefited from its prominent faculty and national reputation. The institution was able to attract African Americans from a national pool. And once on the campus, students had the opportunity to interact with well-known political, artistic, and academic figures lured to the campus by their ties to Johnson.

When his term as president began, Charles S. Johnson inherited the responsibility of raising $500,000 for the endowment to meet a challenge by the General Education Board (GEB). The GEB made this challenge in a matching campaign begun in 1935, and extended it by agreement to June 30, 1948.[19] When Johnson took office, very little of the $500,000 had been raised to match the GEB's $500,000.

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[18] Charles S. Johnson to General Education Board, Annual Report, Box 57, Folder 10, Charles S. Johnson Papers, Fisk University Special Collections, Nashville, Tennessee.

[19] Charles S. Johnson to Robert Calkins, 8 April 1948, box 420, folder 4408, Record Group 4400-4410, General Education Board Papers, Rockefeller Archive Center; also located in Charles S. Johnson Papers, box 57, folder 5, Fisk University Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

Marts and Lundy's Approach to Fundraising at Fisk

The alumni are traditionally the first to be mobilized in a college fundraising campaign.[20] Marts and Lundy followed this tradition and began their work at Fisk with a campaign to spur alumni giving. Their aim was to demonstrate on a local and national level that Fisk students were grateful for their education and also willing to lend a hand in the University's finances when necessary.

The firm began the campaign just as it had any other college fundraising campaign. This called for meetings with the key college administration to gather information about "the academic program of the college, the financial situation, its problems, and the real need for the project for which funds are to be raised." In order to design a campaign that was "educational rather than of the ballyhoo" and to "give themselves whole-heartedly to the promotion of the campaign, utilizing every minute of every day in behalf of the campaign," Marts and Lundy reviewed all readily available historical and publicity pieces pertaining to Fisk.[21] They combed through newspapers to ascertain Fisk's reputation in the community. And they spent time Nashville gathering information about the interests and motivations of locals. They were guided by their belief that "The most effective fund raising comes out of attending to the motivations and interests of the giver and of finding ways to link those motivations and interests to the institution's needs."[22]

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[20] Cutlip, *Fundraising in the United States.*

[21] Floyd C. Freeman. "How to Conduct a Local Campaign: College and Church," Conference Reports, Series I, Roll # 1, 1945-1950, Indiana University Philanthropic Studies Library, Indianapolis, Indiana.

[22] Payton. Introduction to the Transaction Edition: xvii.

In addition to gathering information, they expended a lot of effort educating the local citizens about the college. This was done through college displays in local stores; the inclusion of local citizens on fundraising committees; making presentations for the Nashville Chamber of Commerce and women's clubs; and giving tours of the campus.[23] In the case of Fisk, Marts and Lundy's overall strategy was to draw attention to the fact that Johnson was the first black president and use this as enticement for attracting support from blacks and whites. The firm drafted a brochure entitled "A New President for An Advancing Era at Fisk University" which called for the support of the new president:

> In choosing Dr. Johnson to carry the standard for Fisk University, the Trustees feel that they have done their utmost to serve the cause of education in the United States and in the world. Dr. Johnson's participation in national and international affairs cannot but add luster to the already-bright record which Fisk has made in educational leadership. This campaign offers you the opportunity to throw your influence behind a distinguished leader, who now heads one of the most important educational institutions in this country.[24]

In drafting this publication, the firm took their usual approach of casting the college in the most positive light and focusing on its strengths. According to Brittingham and Pezzullo, "Early fundraising stressed the preservation of fragile institutions; more modern approaches stress

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[23] Floyd C. Freeman. "How to Conduct a Local Campaign: College and Church," Conference Reports, Series I, Roll # 1, 1945-1950, Indiana University Philanthropic Studies Library, Indianapolis, Indiana.

[24] "A New President for An Advancing Era at Fisk University," Charles S. Johnson Papers, Fisk Special Collections, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

strengthening already stable and vital organizations or the opportunity to extend the value of the institution to new clientele...."[25] Marts and Lundy claimed to adhere to this more modern approach, and in fact, found the former approach distasteful and unprofessional.

To gain the support of the black community in particular, Marts and Lundy encouraged several of the black Fisk trustees to match dollar for dollar each contribution made by the alumni. According to the firm,

> this would put the negroes [sic] out in the front of the procession carrying the flag, -- instead of dragging along in the rear in a place of inferiority. It would put the flag in the hands of the new negro[sic] president and strengthen him in his leadership. And it would encourage the proper philosophy of cooperation between the whites and negroes, that of white encouragement to the negroes to work out their own destiny -- in the best Fisk tradition.[26]

Charles S. Johnson and Marts and Lundy asked for the help of Fisk alumnus and trustee, Ernest Alexander, in their quest for alumni support. Alexander was a successful doctor and a very active alumnus on a national level. He was well known and respected by many of the other alumni. Alexander emphasized Johnson's prestige to aid in this effort. For example, in a letter to alumni, he wrote:

> Those of us, and particularly you as parents, who know Fisk and its President-Elect, Dr. Charles S. Johnson (Fisk's first Negro president) have the promise that any such investment which may be made in the education of our boys and girls

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[25] Brittingham and Pezzullo. *The Campus Green.*

[26] A.C. Marts to Theodore Yoder, Director of Public Relations, 30 October 1946, box 53, folder 10, Charles S. Johnson Papers, Fisk University Special Collection, Nashville, Tennessee.

will bring rich returns to our American democracy and culture.[27]

In addition to calling on the alumni to match the endowment campaign, Marts and Lundy enlisted the efforts of the faculty, staff, and students. With a bit of encouragement from Johnson, they pledged to raise $15,000.

Perhaps the greatest effort came from the local black citizens of Nashville. When asked, the community pledged to raise $25,000 as "evidence of its support of Dr. Johnson and Fisk University." Although many doubted their ability, the black community successfully fulfilled their pledge.[28]

Because of Johnson's national stature, it was hoped that his inauguration would bring support from the white community as well. White members of the board of trustees were asked to use their ties in their community to raise support for the University —support that had not been seen since the mid-1920s. In this effort, the fundraisers appealed to the white citizen's concerns and prejudices regarding blacks—economics, loyalty to the South and morality. This strategy, employed by Marts and Lundy, spoke to their emphasis on "attending to the motivations and interests of the giver and of finding ways to link those motivations and interests to the institution's needs."[29] Some of the reasons given to persuade whites to give to Fisk were progressive and pragmatic in their tone. For example, reason number one of Marts and Lundy's

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[27] ; Ernest R. Alexander to Alumni, March 1947, box 56, folder 10, Charles S. Johnson Papers, Fisk University Special Collections, Nashville, Tennessee.

[28] A.C. Marts to Theodore Yoder, Director of Public Relations, 30 October 1946, box 53, folder 10, Charles S. Johnson Papers, Fisk University Special Collection, Nashville, Tennessee.

[29] Payton. Introduction to the Transaction Edition: xvii

document "Twelve Reasons Why Nashville Should Support Fisk"[30] asks white citizens to consider the economic contributions of blacks to the local community:

> 1. The University itself and the student body spend approximately $500,000 in Nashville each year. This means that amount is brought in from the outside every year....[31]

This strategy of stressing economic impact was typical of the Marts and Lundy campaign. In 1950, Marts and Lundy staff member, Carl W. Shaver underscored this in a speech given at the Marts and Lundy annual fundraising conference. The speech, entitled "The Value of a College to a Local Community" proclaimed:

> Each of us who has had responsibility for a college or university campaign has sought to impress upon the merchants and business houses of the community the specific value of the educational institution to the community. Generally, most business houses will agree that the college is an important economic asset to the town, but they have almost no understanding of how much of an economic contribution the college makes.[32]

Prior to the Fisk endowment campaign, Marts and Lundy only stressed economic impact on the

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[30] It is important to note that this fundraising piece was one of only a few used during the Fisk Campaign. It was heavily circulated in within the white community in Nashville.

[31] J. L. Mandell to Dean W. J. Faulkner, 25 February 1947, box 53, folder 16, Charles S. Johnson Papers, Fisk University Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

[32] Carl W. Shaver. "The Value of a College to a Local Community." Marts and Lundy Annual Fundraising Conference, August 1, 1950, Marts and Lundy Papers, Series I, Conference Papers, Roll#1, 1945-1950. Indiana University Philanthropic Studies Library, Indianapolis, Indiana.

community when working with predominantly white institutions and their surrounding communities. This change in strategy may have resulted from Fisk's national student body. Instead of enrolling students from the local community and nearby cities in the South, Fisk was drawing from a national pool of students. These students were new consumers for the Nashville community.

In addition to stressing the economic gains, Marts and Lundy "tried to build friends within the white community for [black colleges]."[33] In trying to build the donor base of a college, the firm vowed neither to participate in begging and "bowing for the financial favor of wealthy individuals" nor to "degrade colleges."[34] However, many of their strategies fed into the racist attitudes of southern whites. Reasons number six and twelve summarize the general ideas and feeling that Marts and Lundy were trying to convey. Reason six sends the message that blacks should be indoctrinated in the segregated way of life by educating them in the South. Reason twelve taps into the racial stereotype that blacks who are uneducated or educated in the North are immoral, lawless, and rebellious:

> 6. The Negro people must have ministers, doctors, teachers, and social workers. These professional leaders must be trained either in the South in a place like Fisk, or they must go to a northern University [sic]. Would

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[33] *Financing Philanthropy*. Marts and Lundy Newsletter. October 1955, p. 7. Marts and Lundy Records, 1926-1992, Series II Newsletters, Roll #9, Financing Philanthropy, 1926-1971, Indiana University Philanthropic Studies Library, Indianapolis, Indiana.

[34] A. V. McClain, "Techniques for a Local Campaign," Marts and Lundy Papers, Series I, Conference Papers, Roll #2, 1951-1954, p. 62, Indiana University Philanthropic Studies Library, Indianapolis, Indiana.

we not prefer to train our own, here in our midst, where they can continue sympathetic to southern life?

12. The sound religious program at Fisk makes for a sober, sane, constructive, and moral citizenship. Fisk students do not get into trouble. They are law-abiding and they make citizens who cooperate with the best element — white or black — in the communities where they live.[35]

Ironically, during the same year that Fisk embarked on its endowment campaign, Marts and Lundy worked on a campaign for historically black Shaw University in North Carolina. In this case, the firm decided to use the same promotional materials for both potential black and white donors:

> The present effort, however, seems to be unique in that an organized approach to Negroes and whites was made at the same time and the same promotional literature was used for each group.

The races were cooperative in their efforts to support Shaw and the rhetoric used in the fundraising publicity portrayed blacks in a favorable manner rather than playing on racial stereotypes.[36]

However, the campaign for Shaw University was an anomaly for Marts and Lundy.

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[35] J. L. Mandell to Dean W. J. Faulkner, 25 February 1947, box 53, folder 16, Charles S. Johnson Papers, Fisk University Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

[36] "Negroes and Whites Help Shaw," Financing Philanthropy. Marts and Lundy Newsletter. February 1946, p. 1. Marts and Lundy Records, 1926-1992, Series II Newsletters, Roll #9, Financing Philanthropy, 1926-1971, Indiana University Philanthropic Studies Library, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Typically, the firm would spend a great deal of effort learning the emotions of a group and discovering the stimuli to which they responded.[37] It was not surprising, then that the stimuli that worked best in Nashville included racial overtones.

While Marts and Lundy was focusing on the white community in Nashville, Charles S. Johnson was doing what he did best – appealing to a vast array of national philanthropic organizations for funding. President Johnson sent letters to over 500 foundations with little response. Accustomed to receiving great amounts of financial support for his research efforts while director of the social science department, Johnson soon discovered that many foundations were reluctant to give money for endowment purposes. In a letter to Robert Calkins of the General Education Board, Johnson best described his frustration:

> In the course of my work on this Endowment Campaign, I have become acutely aware of the difficulty of raising money for endowment. The Foundations are practically unanimous in declining to make gifts to endowment. Friends in the general public are so conscious of the comparatively low return on endowment that they are not generally in a position to make substantial gifts.[38]

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[37] T.T. Frankenberg. Marts and Lundy Conference Address, August 23, 1945, Marts and Lundy Records, Series I, Conference Papers, Indiana University Philanthropic Studies Library, Indianapolis, Indiana.

[38] Charles S. Johnson to Robert Calkins, 8 April 1948, box 57, folder 5, Charles S. Johnson Papers, Fisk University Archives, Nashville Tennessee; Memo from Rosenwald Fund to Fisk University, n.d., 1946, box 80, folder 8, Julius Rosenwald Fund, Fisk University Archives, Nashville, Tennessee, Charles S. Johnson to Dr. Robert Calkins of the General Education Board,

A number of difficulties also arose out of the creation of the United Negro College Fund (UNCF), of which Fisk was an active member. The fund's very existence offered an easy excuse for many foundations not to give. They would say, in so many words, "your institution is already benefiting from our contribution to the UNCF." Although Johnson and the Marts and Lundy preferred to raise money throughout the year, under the agreement with the UNCF, presidents of the cooperating colleges were required to devote a considerable amount of their time during the year to fundraising for the collective enterprise. This restriction reduced the effective period for the endowment campaign to six months. Due to the restrictions of the UNCF, the deadline of June 30, 1948, could not be pursued until after March 15, 1948 — giving Johnson and Marts and Lundy only two and half months to collect the remaining $400,000.[39] On April 3, 1947, Charles S. Johnson received a letter from Arnaud C. Marts. In it, Marts vented his frustration with the University's fundraising approach:

> After thorough consideration of the numerous restrictions and limitations which it seems best to you and your advisors to impose upon our recommended programs, we feel that our service should be recessed until September 1, ... This will free you and your associates to develop the program in accordance with your own judgements, and will free us from the responsibility for producing results with

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11 June 1947, box 56, folder 4, Charles S. Johnson Papers, Fisk University Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

[39] Charles S. Johnson to Dr. Robert Calkins, 11 June 1947, Charles S. Johnson Papers, Fisk University Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

measures we believe to be inadequate for the purpose.[40]

With this in mind, Johnson asked that the General Education Board relax the conditions of the endowment matching campaign, taking into consideration the need for some presidential attention to the academic program at Fisk. The GEB sent Johnson a favorable response to his request:

> Your suggestion has been discussed by the officers who are disposed to look with favor on the proposal. The grant would be terminated without prejudice and any new proposals would be considered on their merits.... If you and your trustees wish to make a formal request to the Board to terminate the grant, we shall be glad to present the proposal to the Executive Committee at its October meeting.[41]

However, Johnson did not follow through with a formal request.

There is evidence that Johnson continued to pursue the endowment challenge until as late as February 10, 1948. Eventually, he was able to collect $180,000 toward the GEB endowment pledge. This sum left a balance of $320,000 that went uncollected by Fisk University. Although President Johnson was ambitious in his pursuit of the endowment monies, he was also aware of the academic needs of the University and the need to raise money for the operating budget.[42]

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[40] A.C. Marts to Charles S. Johnson. 3 April 1947, Charles s. Johnson Papers, Fisk University Special Collections, Nashville, Tennessee.

[41] Charles S. Johnson to Robert Calkins, 8 April 1948, box 57, folder 5, Charles S. Johnson Papers, Fisk University Archives, Nashville Tennessee.

[42] Memo from Rosenwald Fund to Fisk University, n.d., 1946, box 80, folder 8,Julius Rosenwald Fund, Fisk University Archives, Nashville, Tennessee, Charles S. Johnson to Dr. Robert Calkins of the General Education Board, 11 June 1947, box 56, folder 4, Charles S. Johnson Papers, Fisk

Fisk did not rekindle its relationship with Marts and Lundy after failing to meet the endowment challenge.

Conclusion

When one reviews the situation at Fisk, several questions surface. First, why would Charles S. Johnson allow Marts and Lundy to use racist rhetoric in their fundraising appeals to the white citizens of Nashville? We can only speculate because, as was typical of Johnson, he rarely recorded his personal feelings.[43] It is clear, however, that Johnson did not lend his name to any of the letters sent by Marts and Lundy to the white community. Instead they went out under Marts' signature or that of Mr. Theodore Yoder and Mr. J.L. Mandell, Fisk's public relations directors. Johnson was cognizant of his stature on a national and international level and was cautious about decisions that could bring criticism to his leadership. Johnson's "turning a blind eye" to the rhetoric used by Marts and Lundy is indicative of his overall approach when interacting with whites. He would compromise when necessary in order to accomplish his goals.

University Archives, Nashville, Tennessee. Charles S. Johnson to Dr. Robert Calkins, 11 June 1947; Robert D. Calkins to Dr. Johnson, 13 June 1947, box 139, folder 1292, Record Group 1282-1292, 1,1, General Education Board Papers, Rockefeller Archives Center, Sleepy Hollow, New York. Fisk Faculty Meeting Minutes, 10 February, 1948, box 38, folder 10, Charles S. Johnson Papers, Fisk University Archives, Nashville, Tennessee. Interoffice memo by Fred McCuistion regarding Charles S. Johnson, General Education Board Papers, box 139, folder 1292.

[43] To this statement there is one exception. Johnson was very forthright and revealing in the love letters sent to his wife Marie Burgette Johnson. However, in this case, he did not discuss his interactions with Marts and Lundy with Marie.

He was a pragmatic strategist who felt he could find a middle ground without surrendering his integrity.[44]

Then there is the question of why Marts and Lundy strayed from their code of ethics. It is evident that they did not adhere to tenets number five and six of their much-touted code. Although some of their publicity was educational, much of it did succumb to the "ballyhoo" they so tried to avoid. In making derogatory and condescending insinuations about blacks, Marts and Lundy crossed the line and used publicity that was "likely to offend."[45] Were they simply unaware of the degrading nature of their appeal, or did they knowingly and cynically employ racist ideas? It is clear that the words they chose were tailored to the "motivations and interests of the givers" – that in writing the appeal, they were following their pledge to put the donor first. Thus it was precisely the diligent pursuit of one part of Marts and Lundy's code of ethics that led to the violation of another. The use of racist rhetoric may not have offended the white citizens of Nashville, but would have offended blacks had they received the same publicity piece.

The question of why Marts and Lundy strayed from their goal of presenting Fisk in a positive light may be a question of oversight. Without strong guidance from the University, Marts and Lundy quickly became servants of the giver— doing whatever they could to maximize participation. Thus, fundraising campaigns, whether they are delegated to outside fundraising firms or handled by in-house development staffs, need to be closely supervised so that the goals and mission of the institution remain at the forefront of the campaign. Although it is essential

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[44] Gilpin, "An Intellectual Biography," Robbins, *Sidelines Activist*.

[45] "Code of Ethics" Rockefeller Family Archives, Record Group 2, Office of the Messrs Rockefeller, Friends and Services Series, Box 38, Folder 282, Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepyhollow, New York.

that publicity efforts be designed to speak to specific populations, it is equally important that all of an institution's publicity present the community it serves in a favorable way.

This historical case study sheds light on several issues that remain relevant today. In a society in which racism still exists, how do we avoid these same pitfalls when asking potential donors to support black colleges? When we review black college fundraising literature today, does it degrade and belittle them? Does it feed into stereotypes prevalent in today's society? It is often the case that black college fundraising solicitations begin by presenting the deficiencies of the institution—thus showing them to be "needy." While this strategy is not meant to malign the institution, it may suggest to potential donors that black colleges are mismanaged and less than self-sufficient. Instead, fundraisers need to follow the recommendation of Brittingham and Pezzullo: " strengthening already stable and vital organizations."[46] Showing strong black colleges and emphasizing their contributions to local communities and the nation at large is crucial and effective. Pointing out the neediness and deficiencies of these institutions does not help them, regardless of the monetary support gained.

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[46] Brittingham and Pezzullo, *The Campus Green*.

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